[Chaco Period]
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[P. 13-B]

/26 cont./

101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned. 1

101 /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
● 163 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

7 [For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst]

/27 cont./
174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

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19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect, The
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[197] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

/27 cont./
114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
125 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

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21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

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by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/28 cont./

the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

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IV. History of Interethnic Relations

At the end of the 18th century, when the Guaná groups moved to the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, the southern region of Mato Grosso was beginning to be invaded by a pastoral wave that was formed between the Paranaíba River and the Rio Grande, in the place known today as the Triângulo Mineiro. This might be termed the first wave of actual occupation of the lands of the Brazilian southwest. Up to that time, only bandeiras /armed bands for hunting Indians of the 17th century/ had penetrated into that territory, either to seize Indians or to cross the region on the way to the legendary Inca empire. (97)

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97. "In the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the incursions of the Paulistas /men from São Paulo/ into the southern lands of Mato Grosso, where they searched the area between the upper Parana and Paraguay /rivers/ for metals, since capturable Indians were already relatively scarce in the region." (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60.)

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The occupation of this area by the bandeirantes /members of bandeiras/ never had a civilizing purpose, i.e., the bandeirantes never settled there in order to develop a productive activity; and while on the one hand, as shown by the writer Mario Monteiro de Almeida, (98) they carried the frontier of Brazil to the

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98. "For many years the Paulistas remained in the campos of Vacaria and Xeres. There, in those campos,

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us the first arrival of settlers, who will arrive in ever increasing numbers, coming from the Province of Minas Gerais, where they do not find the fertile and unpopulated plains that draw them here for their benefit and ours." (1840: 170-71.)

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But the region actually occupied by the Guaná--called Itatins at the time--was to take in almost simultaneously two human contingents of distinct origins; and it may even be said that this encounter was the closing point in the pastoral penetration, i.e., the meeting point of two segments of the same frontier, coming from the northeast and channeled through the funnel formed by the Parnaíba River and the Rio Grande: while one segment came toward the south, fording the Paraná River and entering the region of fine campos called Vacaria, another headed west to Coxim, probably incorporating people from Cuiabá, and closed the circle in the region of the Taquari and Miranda rivers.(101) We believe

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101. "For tens of years, the old regions of the Taquari and Miranda, the latter formerly campos de Xeres, from the river banks to the banks of the Apa, as well as the Vacaria plateau, formerly llanos de Yguari, extending to the Iguatemi, had remained in their natural uncultivated state, left to the exclusive rule of the inhabitant. -- On the right bank of the

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On the right bank of the Miranda, through the years, since its foundation in 1797, there survived only the fort of the same name, surrounded by some aldeas of Guanás, Quiniquinaus, and Guaxis.-- In the Vacaria region, the beautiful campos of native forage stretched to the horizon, like a green, softly billowing ocean dotted with small spots of thickets.... These campos were to remain isolated from civilization for many years. At the same time, during the third decade (of the 19th century), on the banks of the Parnaíba and in the valleys of the tributaries of the Paraguay River, the settlement of those vast lands isolated in the heart of Brazil began."
(Mário Monteiro de Almeida, op. cit., pp. 227-228.)
See also Nelson Werneck Sodré, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

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We believe that only in the mid-19th century, shortly before the Paraguayan war, did the Guaná become conscious of the consequences of this pastoral frontier. Up to then, the bulk of the regional livestock--as we have said--seems to have come from Paraguay. And one might rightfully assume that this wave did not present a favorable demographic index for permanent settlement: the size of the glebes and the extreme mobility of livestock rearing, along with a sparse population, would hardly have presented

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/59 cont./ conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient

102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

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technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

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It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

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103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

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been used in the retaking of Corumbá, the former Albuquerque, and in mopping up the territory previously invaded by enemy forces. Many of these elements were made up of people who had come from other parts of Brazil, in battalions formed in other provinces.--The fighting over, demobilization began. And the demobilization had the interesting consequence of contributing to the settlement, in the western lands, of the elements who had ranged over it in the service of war. When the job of delimiting boundaries was over, appreciable groups of former soldiers just stayed there." (Op. cit., p. 101.)

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close of the Paraguayan war and, therefore, after 1869, that a considerable portion of the Brazilian army, demobilized in those parts, chose to remain there instead of returning to their places of origin. That author indicates that these elements, in great part, came from the northeast and from Bahia, from places where the rural populations were characterized by constant migration. And, while these contingents of demobilized soldiers began to occupy the region with typical fazendas, we must also note the penetration of Paraguayan elements, who, when the fighting was over, in large numbers began to enter a territory of richer economic prospects and where they could get better positions than a wasted and fallen Paraguay could offer.

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offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna.

3:Oliveira--80 E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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Historical Brazil SL2
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/61 cont./ a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

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105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

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The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

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/61 cont./ Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic increase brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil.(107)

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107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Campo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

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120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

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population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite role in the regional trade.

It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts between Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

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Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus, and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...

[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:218.

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178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

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V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Back, 1916:90.

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"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

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797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

184 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served
177 to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives
167 If we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

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VII. Acculturation and Mobility

177 Acculturation and social mobility will be dealt with,
167 in this chapter, as two socio-cultural phenomena which, according to their own peculiarities, have played a basic role in the process of assimilation of the Terêna.

121 Already several times, in the course of this work, we have used the term assimilation, yet without defining it adequately. Up to now this was not necessary, since the context itself in which the term occurred was sufficient to make the reality described intelligible to the reader, who did not need to resort to any but simple concepts. Now this definition can no longer be postponed, since we shall be dealing with more controversial matters, which, for this reason, will have to be conceptualized with precision. Thus, we understand, by "assimilation," the "processus" by which an ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing (a) its cultural peculiarity and (b) its previous ethnic identification. Whereas the first consequence, (a), is equivalent to the process of acculturation, the second one, (b), has a psychological content as well, although it is characterized as a socio-cultural phenomenon, chiefly owing to the fact that the group is the unit under consideration; here, individual assimilation is set aside, or at best, used in a comparative sense. (172) On the other hand,

[text continues on p.162]

172. The word assimilation has been used by sociologists to designate "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable /cited in English/."

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162 As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369 The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next
162 chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the
582 preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369 The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population,
167 as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that
167 this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding
369 the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that
621 they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

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167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[161] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
319 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

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*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] [123] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] [571] [829] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

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*177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
369 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more
developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[409] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there
than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads),
or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in
colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his
friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he
did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he
purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the
aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and be-
gins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually
becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
●167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates
only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the
superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not
find the conditions necessary for his development. We have
an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the
Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian,
Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively
for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an
aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre,
because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture
land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he
no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent
at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as
[554] for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and
for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed
on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
538 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
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[157]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

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200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him in Campo Grande, he had bought a house, still tied up to estate inventory, and he was trying to salvage his money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the

201. As a source of such friction, an important role is played by the politico-religious division of the community. This is proved by the large numbers of individuals channeled from Bananal and Ipegue to Campo Grande and Aquidauana. While Bananal is in first place among the aldeas, with 23.91 per cent, Ipegue in second, with 18.11 per cent, the other aldeas are most insignificant, sending, in absolute figures, one or two individuals at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas; it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the population that scattered before the creation of the native reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
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/140 cont./

developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,

/141 cont./

where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again. This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terena with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say, "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

This concern with the body--which we do not claim to be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[824] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and
work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility)
appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change
of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it
might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such
a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of
Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always
G yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
[469] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his
aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

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*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
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[191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for
the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent,
while at the same time they dress better and are practically
undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

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207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
● [67] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[67] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[22] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.